

# CONCERNED

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF FERMANAGH CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE COMMITTEE

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NO  
RENT  
PAY  
NO  
RATES

"IRELAND UNFREE SHALL NEVER BE AT PEACE"

No. 138

Saturday, 18th May (De Sathairn, 18 Bealtaine), 1974

## Wilson's Disclosures: Reasons Behind Them

THE British Prime Minister claimed in the House of Commons on 13th May that the British Army had captured details of an IRA plan to seize control of approximately 9 square miles of Belfast, burn parts of it to the ground, bomb Protestant ghettos and homes, terrorise communities into supporting them and cause a bloody civil war.

The most elaborate press conference ever witnessed by the most experienced of journalists was laid on to publicise the alleged captured documents. But in spite of Wilson's disclosures in the Commons, the British Ambassador's call on Cosgrave in Dublin, the acceptance of the British story by the Assembly and their following statement, journalists attending the conference and viewing the copies of the said document were highly sceptical of the truth, and this included those from the pro-British Army press.

So it may well turn out that the only people to accept blindly Britain's word will be the Six Co. Assembly members and the Twenty-six Co. bunch of collaborators led by Cosgrave, because each of these groups has a deep vested interest in a British victory in the North and in British influence in Ireland as a whole.

They will be careful not to recall the dirty tricks, the black propaganda and the forged documents of past British governments.

The smear campaigns used against the great O'Neill and the discovery of plots and documents in connection with him and his efforts to rid Ireland of the English enemy, or those used against the men of 1798, 1867, 1916, or the rotten forgeries used to blacken the name of Roger Casement—still being used against him almost sixty years after his death—will be carefully forgotten by the Irish tools of British guile.

That the present "discoveries" are forgeries there is no doubt, but what are the reasons for them? One would seem to be an effort to counter the strong opposition by some sections of the British Labour Party to the continuation of the Emergency Provisions Act which comes up for renewal shortly, the maintenance of Long Kesh concentration camp, the secret courts. But the main reason, we feel, is to try and bolster up the sagging British Army morale, particularly in places like Belfast, Derry, Newry and Crossmaglen, and above all to stem the ever-rising tide of the "Troops Out" campaign in England which has now reached new and serious proportions for the Government there.

On 19th February last Sir Alec Douglas-Home said: "I don't want to appear to be a scaremonger, but the fact remains that if the Labour party wins the election, it will cut defence costs by £1,000 millions, which will mean virtually an end of our army in Germany, and the withdrawal of the whole army from Northern Ireland."

### HOW LONG WILL BRITISH ARMY STAY?

When Roy Mason, the British Minister of Defence, told a meeting of coal-miners in Newcastle last month that pressure in Britain was mounting

to pull the troops out of Ireland, he opened up a floodgate of press coverage on "our forgotten army": Fleet Street editors fell over themselves in their haste to admit what readers of "An Phoblacht" and other Republican newspapers had known for the last year or more; that if the British do not beat the Provos in a short period, they will be faced with the choice of pulling out their troops or in a few short years having no foot-soldiers left to do anything with. That's how bad morale and recruitment has slumped in "the finest army in the world".

As any student of insurgency campaigns could have told them, the dark clouds gathering over Sunningdale have trapped the British in the classic conditions for the defeat of the counter-insurgency forces in a colonial-style war.

French-Algerian, US-Vietnamese wars teaches that military victory for the insurgents in the essence means the breakdown of morale of the "security forces". The same wars show three pre-conditions for such a breakdown of morale in a situation like the one we have in Ireland today.

A growing number of the troops must come to the conclusion that: the objectives set for them by their political masters are impossible or unlikely to succeed; in hopeless attempts to achieve the impossible objectives they have been set, they are called upon to pay an increasingly heavy price in wounded and maimed; while paying this price in this futile attempt, they come to feel that the "folk back home" are indifferent or hostile to either success or their fate. With the massive eleven-to-one rejection of Sunningdale by the North's electorate in the last Westminster election, the last outstanding of these conditions is met.

In his Newcastle speech, Mason described the British casualties — almost 3,000 wounded or killed—as horrific. By December 31st, 1973, the official casualty list admitted that the British Army had suffered more casualties in Ireland than in Aden, and almost as many as in the Indonesian confrontation and Cyprus put together. This is only counting official figures. On 3rd March this year the Foreign Office's favourite newspaper, "The Observer", admitted in relation to Britain's other contemporary war in Oman what many had long suspected about Ireland: "Bodies have been flown back to Britain—in some cases listed as traffic fatalities, according to doctors here."

Little wonder then that recruitment and re-enlistment (the main sources of NCOs) are running at the lowest level since National Service ended. In 1972-73 recruitment was down 20 per cent on the previous year, and re-enlistment down 34 per cent. The figures for 1973-74, at the half-way stage, were a further 30 per cent down. In a desperate attempt to counter this situation, a massive recruitment campaign has been launched. Already there has been a substantial increase in the recruitment of poor coloured boys from homes like Dr. Barnardo's, and attempts will undoubtedly be made to increase the intake of women.

However, the British attempts to learn the les-

son of Vietnam-Algeria-Indonesia have only added to their morale and recruitment problems. Anxious to avoid the "ex-soldier on crutches" image which contributed so much to the break-up of French civilian morale during the Algerian war, only a small percentage of the soldiers wounded have been medically discharged. Visits to these hospitalised has had an important effect on relatives and friends, which has spread back to the garrison towns of England. This explains in part the massive response in these areas to the "Bring Our Boys Home" petition last year.

On 2nd May last year, in a move to try to turn back this gathering tide, Ian Gilmour, then Minister of State for Defence Procurement, announced a pension boost aimed mainly at the wives of servicemen, which to put no finer point on it, gave of recruitment so well-known in Dublin's "Monto" during the Crimean, Boar and First World Wars. At about the same time an extra £5½ million was allocated for recruiting, and a series of one-page advertisements was placed in the quality press.

The object of this exercise was not so much to gain recruits as to encourage a more "responsible" attitude by the press to the problems faced by the army. A quick perusal of the quality press, weeklies and dailies reveals their responsible attitude. Indeed, up to, and in one case after, Mason's speech, even liberal British papers tended to view any journalist who so much as hinted that there was a problem as being at best a "dupe of Provo propaganda".

Throughout last year, the "Bring the boys home" mood spread rapidly through the married quarters, while in places as far apart as York and North London, returned soldiers put "Troops out of Ireland" stickers on their lorries; not to mention the bandsmen at Colchester last August who took and distributed "Troops out" leaflets.

But during this period, the British Labour movement—not excluding its left-wing—made little or no attempt to build a movement comparable to the one in the US in response to Vietnam. The impetus towards providing the missing ingredient came, however, during the miners' strike when Tory talk of using the troops against the miners combined with some "dry run" raids by troops on houses in the centres of Hull, Reading and Birmingham, alerted important sections of the Labour movement to the fact that Kitson has plans for them, too. The result of this can be seen in the list of speakers who addressed the conference on "The British Army in Ireland and its Projected Role in Britain" organised by the Troops Out Movement in London for 11th May. The list starts with David Bolton, vice-president of the Scottish National Union of Miners, goes on through Labour councillors, to a senior member of the Engineering Union.

Another sign of the writing on the wall will come this month when for the first time ever the

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corridors of the Palace of Westminster will echo to the sound of a Troops Out Movement meeting organised by a group of Labour MPs. Barring a major change in the balance of forces in the North or a Labour defeat in Britain, a mood has gained momentum which not even a repeat of last month's secret cruise to London by a senior Dublin Government Minister will hold back.

Faced with a situation like this the British Army and Government has need for new and horrible discoveries about the Irish freedom struggle.

## WRONG FLAG

A GRAVE and serious mistake has been made in that great loyalist town of Portadown.

The occupation forces of John Bull were sent out to remove the Irish Republican flag from a house in that town.

So anxious and willing were those gallant "peacekeepers" that they mistook in their eagerness for duty a Loyal Ulster flag for the Tricolour and in true British Army style they kicked and smashed in the door of the loyal ones, tore down the flag and used language never heard before in that loyal district.

But they haven't got away with it. Minutes later good loyal spokesmen were loud in protest and demands were made for apologies. These came quickly, and the chief of the British peacekeepers has apologised and explained a grave mistake had been made. His boys were sure they were at a Fenian door—and, well, anything goes there!

## LORD FEATHER

AS a union head and champion of the working

This dastardly crime horrified and incensed people, particularly working class people, not only in Ireland but over most of the world.

In the US workers and unions were preparing for massive strikes in protest at the mass murder. This frightened England's Tory Government, so they bought the union boss Vic Feather and sent him to the US to discourage such strikes. Vic did his job well. His reward on return to England was, amongst other considerations, a touch of the royal blade changing Vic to Lord Feather.

This now is the prime motivator (on behalf of Britain, of course) behind the N.I. Human Rights Bill. Is it any wonder the whole thing stinks?

## ADVERTISING

This newspaper invites advertisements from organisations promoting Ceilidhe, Dances, Concerts, Socials, Meetings, etc. If you have something to sell or buy, why not put a small prepaid in ConcERNed? Our circulations covers the entire county of Fermanagh and parts of Tyrone. It will pay you to advertise with us. Rates available on application.

### JAMES CAREY

Select Grocers and General Hardware Merchants  
Crown Paint and Wallpaper Specialist  
PHONE: LISNASKEA 337

When in Lisnaskea, call at . . .

### FRANK'S BAR

Home of Traditional Song and Music

MAIN STREET

LISNASKEA

## DENIAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Sir,  
Two men from my parish of Armagh, Thomas Gribben and Cathal McNally, have been in Long Kesh since August, 1971. They were imprisoned without trial and have now served the equivalent of a five years' jail sentence for no crime.

No evidence has been produced against them publicly. They were compelled to submit to the farce of Whitelaw's Tribunals, which are contrary to the European Convention on Human Rights.

It is difficult to see how their status is different from that of slaves. They are being deprived of the youthful years of their prime on the secret evidence of political police.

Where are the promises of the Socialists who are now in Government, promises of Bills of Human Rights?

We have listened to their protests against playing rugby and cricket in South Africa and detention without trial in Chile (while selling them warships), but we have yet to hear a protest from any British Socialist about these men from my parish imprisoned now three years without trial.

The community in Armagh anxiously awaits the end of this violation of human rights, because worse than the damage done to these two men and their families is the corrupting in the minds of the Catholic community of the notions of justice, fair play and equality before the law.

Yours etc.

(Fr.) RAYMOND MURRAY

Parochial House,  
Armagh.

## OFFICIAL REACTIONS, ATTITUDES

Sir,  
Your readers may have noticed a remarkable contrast of reactions and attitudes which throws a lot of light on the official outlook on the value of the lives, liberty and fundamental human rights of the Catholic minority.

On the Tuesday of Holy Week shops and stores to the value of millions of pounds were destroyed in the centre of Belfast, Bangor and Armagh — a deplorable destruction of valuable property that will prove expensive to replace.

On the following day the TV showed on local and British bulletins Mr. Merlyn Rees keening in Royal Avenue and deploring the destruction; Mr. Faulkner was also present, using strong language.

Seventy Catholics were arrested and detained for 72 hours; 3 were interned including 10 women. Subsequently the Rose and Crown Bar on the Ormeau Road was bombed and five innocent and inoffensive Catholics were killed and 18 injured. Result—no TV interviews with politicians. No public walkabout by Mr. Rees. No strong language by any member of the Executive; not even an expression of sympathy from those sources. No round-up of suspected people under emergency provisions and no use of internment as a reprisal.

These lives cannot be replaced; but they do not seem to count for much in the eyes of our lords and masters.

The Catholic community should take careful note of this double standard of treatment. These people are asking us to share our most valuable commodity, our schools, but they appear to despise our sense of values. They refuse to share sympathy for the loss of human life. They refuse to share our senses of the sacredness of human life. They have a blind use of repression for the Catholic people, which they do not use for others (they believe in repression for one side, I for none).

In the area of values we had better stand alone, until a better and fairer line of conduct appears.

Yours etc.

(Fr.) Denis Faul

Dungannon.

## SYMPATHY

THE Canon Maguire Sinn Fein Cumann, Donagh, at their monthly meeting, which had a full attendance, expressed their horror at the murder of Jim Murphy and offer their sympathy to his family, fiancé and friends. "Go ndeanai Dia trocaire ar a anam."

## ANY CHANGE?

IN the very first issue of ConcERNed published on 25th Sept., 1971, this letter appeared:

### WHY I WITHHELD MY RENT

Sir,

Quite frankly it should not be necessary to air my views as to why we should withhold our rents, but nevertheless I'm grateful to have the opportunity to do so. The brutality and torture undergone by so many of our Irish youth interned for doing nothing (and I mean nothing) except being proud of admitting they are Irish, must be met by some voices. OUR VOICE IS: WITHHOLD OUR RENTS UNTIL EVERY SINGLE IRISHMAN IS RELEASSED. The lighter the Council "money-bags" become the stronger our voice of protest becomes. (Decide your own interpretation of "Council money-bags".) One has only to realise as parents, brothers or sisters of any one of these internees how these young men have been treated and for even ONE of us householders to continue and for even ONE of us householders to continue paying our rent is simply saying "Go ahead you terrorists, treat our Irish fellow-men any way you like!" To those small few who have not joined the Rent Strike I ask them to give a thought if it were in fact their son who was interned, would you not be happy to have so many of us willing to protest for his release.

On Rent Strike

The Bawn,  
Enniskillen.

Since then oppression of the Six County minority has increased. Long Kesh is larger. More men than ever are held there in the worst conditions imaginable. Four young Irish people are undergoing the most horrible form of torture (forced feeding) in English jails, while many others are hearing death on hunger strike. Crumlin and Armagh jails are bursting with imprisoned men, women and even children. The vigilantes who guarded the Catholic areas of Belfast were forced off the streets by the British Army (Motorman). The results: the slaughter by foul and brutal murder of over 100 Catholic people and the intimidation of thousands from their homes. The "B"s are gone, but we have them back in the form of better armed sectarian UDR.

The RUC remain unreformed and the British continue their campaign of harassment of "selected" Catholic families in this county as they do elsewhere on an even greater scale. The Emergency Provisions Bill with all its inequitable trappings is still in force and about to be renewed, promising another period of unjust arrests, detention and non-jury courts with their faceless and concealed witnesses. So where is the change? Where is the reason for breaking one's promise? "Withhold our rents until every single Irishman is released."

The writer of this letter is now a prominent member of the local SDLP branch and as far as we know no longer on rent strike. Again we ask—What has changed since 9th August, 1971?

## MAC DIARMADA COMMEMORATION

UPWARDS of 1,000 people attended the Sean Mac Diarmada commemoration in Kiltyclogher, Co. Leitrim, on Sunday last. Despite the heavy rain it was one of the largest turnouts since 1966. A very noticeable number of Fermanagh people took part in the parade, which was led by a colour party and pipe band. The oration was delivered at the fine memorial erected to Mac Diarmada and other Leitrim men who gave their lives for Irish freedom by Mrs. Maura Drumm of Belfast, Vice-President of Sinn Fein, and the ceremony was closed by Seosamh O'Neill of Bundoran.

# Anti-Catholic Bias in the Courts of Northern Ireland

## KNOW WHY PRIESTS DIFFER

CANON Diarmuid Maclomhair, is but one of many priests who are in full sympathy with the Freedom Struggle in the North-Eastern counties of our country against the injustice of their occupation by an alien power. That all priests are not at one in such sympathy does not put those who are in error (doctrinal). If so, then why are not ALL priests in sympathy with the Freedom Struggle? Mainly, I believe, because they disagree politically with those priests who are. That political disagreement in other "walks of life" is seldom detrimental and, some would say, is of the essence of democracy, is accepted. However, in the priests' "walk of life" political disagreement may not, and indeed is not, viewed in the same light.

Certainly not in occupied Ireland today. If honest, must we not trace the obvious abandonment of the practice of religion by so many consumed with patriotic commitment to this too obvious lack of unity in sympathy with a people struggling desperately in their bid to rid themselves of rusted chains of oppression? Personally I would say that the number of such people, that is the number which has abandoned the practice of religion, would be far greater were it not for their awareness of the unfulfilling and unwavering support of so many of their priests. I believe that the Church in Ireland will be saved by the priests who feel bound to stand by their people in "The Gap of Danger". History shows that the priests who took their stand with the people against aggression are the men who are lovingly remembered in song and story. Does it not also show that those same priests contributed in no small measure in saving the Church in Ireland?

The priest, like every other citizen of Ireland, is entitled to hold his own political view and loyalty to the party of his choice, but I reject his claim to a right to moralise in his party-politicking, so giving to a political view an extra-political dimension which it could not in all fairness merit. Damning the Freedom Struggle can only be seen through the eyes of oppressed people as selfish counsel to leave the status quo alone. Translate status quo into English and you are leaving the oppressed people with the view of more than a hint of selfish counsel that they leave the old rotten mess alone. Can anyone blame people so long oppressed if they see such counsel as unethical and as completely out of accord with Christian commitment?

The many priests who have chosen to travel the unpopular path because they feel it is a Christian duty to do so are not entirely unfamiliar with moral theology. They also know that St. Paul condemned what he called "prudence of the flesh" or in other words a watered-down Christianity which in difficult circumstances will not speak out for truth or principle or value because "prudence" forbids it.

Christian prudence, a virtue, is a total stranger to coziness, carefulness and caution whenever it is obvious that they are the offspring of a devilousness fostered to lessen friction at the expense of Christian concern and/or of humanity.

This "prudence of the flesh" is not a virtue. It merely invites people to a polite way of life, a mask of convenience. It may be said that it is more dangerous than just profitness.

Like Canon Maclomhair, I could not organise "a movement" in his implied sense. Nevertheless, I am convinced that all of us priests who stand shoulder to shoulder with the men and the women of the Resistance are positively helping to save the Church in Ireland. I might add that those priests who cannot see eye to eye with us can help to do so too, even if only in the negative way of refraining from condemning. Men and women of the Resistance know us as friends, and most importantly (they say) as priest friends. We assure them we will not fail them.

A SAMPLE STUDY (MARCH, 1974)

by

THE ASSOCIATION FOR LEGAL JUSTICE

THE joint British-Irish Commission on Law Enforcement set up after the Sunningdale meeting has reported to Cosgrave and Wilson. Inspired leaks from official sources indicate that it has recommended some form of common law enforcement for both parts of Ireland. Conor O'Clery wrote in The Irish Times of 16th April, 1974:

"It is widely believed in the North that the commission

- will not recommend extradition as the Unionists would dearly hope;
- and that it has ruled out the possibility of an all-Ireland court.
- It is expected to recommend instead extra-territorial courts empowered to try people for offences committed outside the jurisdiction."

If the recommendation of "extra-territorial" courts" (common law enforcement) is accepted, it will mean that, for certain scheduled offences such as those listed in the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act, 1973, people can be brought before the courts wherever they are arrested, irrespective of where they have committed the offences. In practice this means that people may be tried before the Special Criminal Court in Dublin for offences committed in N. Ireland; similarly, people may be brought before the Diplock (non-jury) courts in Belfast for offences committed in the Republic of Ireland.

The Association for Legal Justice finds these proposals unacceptable and recommends their rejection to citizens of both parts of Ireland. Citizens of N. Ireland should resist any attempt to extend the Offences Against the State Act and its iniquitous 1972 Amendment to cover them. Citizens of the Republic should also resist any changes in the law which would make them subject to the equally reprehensible court system in N. Ireland. They must be under no illusions about the anti-Catholic bias of the legal system in N. Ireland. If they allow themselves to be made subject to the courts in this part of Ireland this bias will operate against them. The purpose of this paper is to present the evidence for discrimination against Catholics in the legal system in N. Ireland.

Discrimination against Catholics still exists despite Westminster control over law and order. It operates at two levels:

(a) At the level of arrest, prosecution and the preferring of charges. Tom Hadden and Paddy Hilliard in their booklet "Justice in Northern Ireland" (Cobden Trust, 1973) have dealt with this aspect of the problem in a very professional way. Their work is essential reading for anyone interested in this question.

(b) At the level of the operation of the courts there is also discrimination against Catholics. It is common knowledge among those who work in the courts that Crown witnesses, especially soldiers and members of the RUC, are usually more hostile when Catholics are defendants. Some judges are unable to conceal their sectarian feelings in their judgements. They often appear more willing to accept pleas of "guilty" to lesser charges from Protestant defendants than from Catholics. It is in the sentencing policy of many judges that the anti-Catholic bias is most evident. Penalties and sentences for similar offences are markedly lighter in cases involving Protestants and members of the security forces.

In order to illustrate the discrimination against Catholics in the courts, the Association for Legal Justice monitored cases brought under the Sched-

uled Offences of the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act, 1973, and decided during March, 1974.

It had to rely on the reports of cases which appeared in the Belfast Telegraph and Irish News during the month. While these reports do not give a complete picture of everything that happened in the courts during that period they are a valid enough sample for statistical analysis. The picture which emerged from that analysis was:

Cases decided: 62 Catholics, 68 Protestants, 6 soldiers and policemen; total 138.

Acquittals/charges withdrawn: 10 Catholics, 2 Protestants; total 12.

Fined: 1 Catholic, 9 Protestants, 3 soldiers and policemen; total 13.

Suspended sentences: 7 Catholics, 4 Protestants, 2 soldiers and policemen; total 13.

Conditionally discharged: 7 Protestants.

(Continued on page 4)

## INTERIM CUSTODY ORDERS

Sir,

Mr. Merlyn Rees interned nine women in one go; that is his most notable action to date and that is what he will be remembered by since he is likely to do no more than repeat that "chivalrous" action.

In a BBC broadcast in Easter Week he stated that these women were taken in under an Interim Custody Order and their cases would be looked at after 28 days by the commissioners.

In case any member of the public here might be deceived by this ambiguous talk it is important to point out that the only obligation of the Chief Constable is to refer the case to the commissioners within 28 days.

From my conversations with men in Long Kesh it can be stated that cases do not come before the commissioners for eight or nine months or longer. The fact is that a person who is detained by Mr. Rees under an Interim Custody Order must stay in prison without trial for at least eight months (that is the equivalent of a year's imprisonment) before they are told what charges are against them and they receive the further insult of having their case heard in an immoral and unjust tribunal with secret witnesses, curtains and colonial justices from seamy and steamy African ex-British colonies. Their chances of getting any relief from this circus are not very high.

I met two boys in Long Kesh on Easter Sunday who informed me that they were detained on their seventeenth birthday and are now in for over six months under an ICO and have no notion what the charges against them are or when their case will be heard by the recording (fallen) angels.

It is now clear how the present tyranny works; when an incident takes place in an area, some Catholics are taken in and detained, which will be for at least a year, to be used as scapegoats or political hostages to warn all others in those areas to be of good behaviour. This procedure has the opposite effect since Long Kesh and the injustice attached to it has been the spur for continuing violence and it is ticking away, the biggest bomb of all, until the next decade comes as its full fruit.

It is clear that the present policy on detention is bankrupt and counter-productive and it should be clear to any churchman that detention without trial is intrinsically immoral and should be condemned as such.

Yours etc.,

(Fr.) Denis Faul

Dungannon.

Sacerdos

(Continued from page 3)

Bound over: 5 Protestants, 1 soldier/policeman; total 6.

Sent to prison: 44 Catholics, 41 Protestants, 2 soldiers and policemen; total 87.

Average prison sentence, 6.1 years for Catholics; 3.7 years for Protestants; and 2 years for soldiers/policemen.

The full significance of the figures in the statistics above may not be apparent at first sight.

1. **Cases decided.** It might seem from almost identical numbers of Catholics and Protestants who appeared on charges that the law is being applied impartially. Indeed if one were to take account only of the more publicised offences of bombings of town centres and shootings at the security forces which occur in or emanate from Catholic areas, it might seem that the law is being applied more rigorously against Protestants.

If, however, the less publicised crimes by Protestant extremists—civilian assassinations, bombings of Catholic-owned churches, schools and public houses, petrol-bombing of Catholic homes and intimidation of Catholics from their homes and places of work (80 per cent of those intimidated were Catholics) are taken into account, the balance is probably tipped the other way.

Another factor which is inflating the number of Protestants appearing before the courts at the present time is the greater speed with which Protestant offenders are brought before the courts. For example, on April 17 a Protestant defendant announced that he was on hunger strike because he was kept over 3 months on remand. The judge agreed that he had a point and that his case should be speeded up. Contrast this with the situation in Compound 1 in Long Kesh which houses 87 Catholic prisoners on remand. Of these 87, over 30 are more than nine months in custody awaiting

trial. One prisoner is 14 months in custody. No magistrate or judge has commented on this state of affairs.

2. **Acquittals and withdrawal of charges.** The higher percentage of Catholics who have escaped conviction is largely accounted for by the fact that they are often held and returned for trial on the flimsiest evidence. Remands in custody are frequently employed against Catholics as an indirect form of internment. Even after acquittal they are often re-arrested and interned immediately. In no cases has anyone been compensated for hardship or loss of earnings even after an inexcusably long period in custody.

3. **Lesser penalties—fines, conditional discharges, suspended sentences, etc.** Lesser penalties were imposed on 8 Catholics (approximately 13 per cent of those charged) and 25 Protestants (approximately 37 per cent of those charged). It is particularly noticeable that only one Catholic got off with a fine and that no Catholic received a conditional discharge.

4. **Prison sentences.** Prison sentences were imposed on approximately 70 per cent of Catholics and 60 per cent of Protestants. Even more disturbing than the imbalance in the numbers sent to jail is the disparity in the average lengths of prison sentences — 6.1 years in for Catholics and 3.7 years for Protestants.

A number of factors account in part for this grave discrepancy:

(a) The tendency to prefer more serious charges against Catholics, especially in firearms and explosives cases. (See Hadden and Hillyard.)

(b) The acceptance of pleas of "guilty" to lesser charges in cases involving Protestants and the withdrawal of the more serious charges by the Crown.

(c) The refusal to recognise the court by many Catholics with Republican sympathies. It has been made clear by some judges that maximum sentences are imposed in these cases. One may reasonably ask: is it in accordance with strict justice to allow attitudes in court to dictate the length of sentence to such an extent? Should the length of sentence not depend almost entirely on the seriousness of the charge? Would it not be more in accordance with justice to charge these people with membership of an illegal organisation or contempt of court and impose the statutory penalties?

Even after all these factors have been taken into account there is solid evidence that the discrepancy in lengths of sentences is largely due to the anti-Catholic attitudes of many judges. It is particularly evident in firearms and explosives cases and also in riotous and disorderly behaviour cases that there is a marked tendency on the part of many judges to treat Protestants and members of the security forces with greater leniency. Even when a Catholic escapes discrimination at the stage when charges are preferred, he still has the hazard of a biased judiciary.

#### Conclusion

The Association for Legal Justice presents these facts and its analysis of them for a twofold purpose:

(a) To alert individuals and groups interested in human rights and fundamental freedoms to the serious discrimination against Catholics in the courts of Northern Ireland and to elicit their support in bringing it to an end.

(b) To make citizens of the Republic of Ireland and of Northern Ireland aware of the grave risk to their civil and human rights involved in the proposed "extra-territorial courts" (common law enforcement).

Name	Religion	Offences	Charges	Sentence
1. James McAlea Paul McAlea Michael Marshall	Catholic Catholic Catholic	Stonethrowing after a rally in Falls Park do. do.	Riotous behaviour do. do.	6 months (suspended) 6 months (suspended) 6 months (suspended)
2. Michael Grieg	Protestant	Riot on Newtownards Road. Bottles and missiles thrown. Police surrounded and attacked. (It took 6 police to carry Grieg away.)	Disorderly behaviour and assault	Conditional discharge £20 fine for assault
Raymond Watson	Protestant	do.	do.	Conditional discharge £10 fine for assault
3. John Anthony Devine	Catholic	Fired at Army patrol; 2 bullets missed soldier by 9 inches. Nobody injured.	Attempted murder. Possession of rifle and ammo with intent to endanger life	15 years (concurrent sentences on firearms charge)
Patrick Clarke	Catholic	do.	do.	12 years (concurrent sentences on firearms charge)
4. George Moore	Protestant	Kidnapped a Catholic. Shot him 3 times. Left him for dead. Victim survived (paralysed from waist) and identified Moore as man who shot him.	Attempted murder	12 years
Gordon Liggett	Protestant	Identified by the victim as one of the group who took him away to shoot him. (Already serving 6 years for armed robbery.)	Attempted murder Grievous bodily harm Having a firearm	Attempted murder charge withdrawn, 8 years on other charges
5. Marie Vallely	Catholic	Causing an exploding at a tyre depot. Warning given. Nobody injured.	Causing an explosion	12 years
6. Thomas Canavan (Member of UDR)	Protestant	Causing explosion at a Catholic-owned bar. Woman seriously injured. No warning.	Attempted murder Causing an explosion with intent to cause grievous bodily harm	Attempted murder withdrawn, 9 years on other charges
Ivan Dalglish (UDR)	Protestant	do.	do.	9 years do.
Thomas Hagen	Protestant	do.	do.	9 years do.
7. Arthur McGuigan	Catholic	Had at his home: 2 revolvers, 2 rifle mags., 782 rounds of ammo. Feared attack on Unity Flats.	Possession of firearms —without a permit —in suspicious circumstances	4 years
8. Alexander Stewart	Protestant (UDA)	Had at UDA headquarters: 1 revolver, 1 sawn-off shotgun, 1 rifle, 1 home-made mortar, 637 rounds of ammo. Resisted police during search.	Unlawful possession of arms	18 months (to run concurrently with an 18 months sentence for previous arms offence)
Alfred Lee	Protestant (UDA)	do.	do.	2 years (suspended)
9. Anthony McKiernan	Catholic	Had at house: 1 rifle, 15 rds. of ammo.	Possession of arms with intent	5 years
10. William Rellins	Protestant	Had at his home: 1 rifle (SLR), 1 revolver, 3 magazines, 378 rounds of ammo.	Membership of IRA Unlawful possession of arms	1 year
11. James Thompson	Catholic	Had at home: 1 rifle and 24 rounds of ammo.	Possession under susp. circumstances	2 years
12. David Lorimer	Protestant (UDA)	Caught during UDA training session with: 2 rifles, 2 shotguns and ammo.	do.	15 months
Seven other UDA men	Protestant (UDA)	Caught in same session with shotguns and ammo.	do.	9 months each